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#### 9 Abstract

10 Nearly 40 years ago, Emile Thellier published an article summarizing the archeomagnetic data he had obtained during his career, which had allowed him to recover the main features of 11 the directional variations of the geomagnetic field in France for the last two millennia. This 12 13 database went on to be significantly completed 25 years ago by Ileana Bucur, who had taken 14 over Thellier's work on archeomagnetism; this forms the current basis of our knowledge of the directional evolution of the geomagnetic field in France. Since then, archeomagnetic 15 16 studies have been continued at Thellier's historical laboratory in Saint Maur. This article presents the directional archeomagnetic data obtained in France over the past 25 years in this 17 same laboratory. A total of 528 new data are presented, which, together with the 170 results 18 obtained on the French territory previously listed in Bucur (1994), constitute the French 19 directional database (698 data in all). All but two of these data were obtained using the 20 experimental protocol developed by E. Thellier based on the analysis of large samples and on 21 a magnetic viscosity test that has proved its reliability on numerous occasions. The directions 22 from the entire French database have been precisely defined, with 95% of the  $\alpha_{95}$  values being 23 less than 1.9°, and ~50% being less than 0.8°. The selection of 286 data with dating 24

uncertainties of  $\leq$ 50 years allowed us to compute a new reference directional variation curve for France since the first century BC using sliding windows, the variable durations and shifts of which were adapted to the time distribution of the available data, and the bivariate extension of the Fisher statistics. This shows ample and smooth variations, fairly similar to those previously determined from a much smaller database. The resulting secular variation curve is particularly well suited for use in archeomagnetic dating.

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#### 32 1. Introduction

33 Archeomagnetism has developed considerably over the last 20 years. Numerous studies have led to a better understanding of the temporal variations of the geomagnetic field in different 34 parts of the world, although these data still mainly concern the European area (e.g. Schnepp 35 36 and Lanos, 2005; Gómez-Paccard et al., 2006; Martón and Ferencz, 2006; Tema et al., 2006; Batt et al., 2017; Molina-Cardín et al., 2018; Shaar et al., 2018; Schnepp et al., 2020). For 37 metropolitan France, in particular, the last two decades have been marked by significant 38 progress in the knowledge of directional variations during the first millennium BC (e.g. Gallet 39 et al., 2002; Hervé et al., 2013a) and intensity variations over the past ~3000 years (e.g. 40 Chauvin et al., 2000; Genevey and Gallet, 2002; Genevey et al., 2009; 2013; 2016; Hervé et 41 al., 2013b). In addition to the construction of regional secular variation curves, the 42 densification of the archeomagnetic database (e.g. Korte et al., 2005; Genevey et al., 2008; 43 44 Brown et al. (2015) has made it possible to construct global geomagnetic field models that encompass the last few millennia (e.g. Hongre et al., 1988; Korte and Constable, 2005; 2011; 45 Nilsson et al., 2010; Licht et al., 2013; Pavón-Carrasco et al., 2014; Constable et al., 2016; 46 Sanchez et al., 2016; Hellio and Gillet, 2018; Arneitz et al., 2019). All these studies have thus 47 allowed a better characterization of the variability of the geomagnetic field on time scales 48 ranging from a few decades to several millennia. Another reason for the recent spurt of 49

development in archeomagnetism is its ability to provide original dating constraints for archeologically poorly-dated structures (e.g. Le Goff et al., 2002; Pavón-Carrasco et al., 2011; Rouzeau et al., 2015; Tema et al., 2019; Schnepp et al., 2020), as well as for a better understanding of the history of volcanoes (e.g. Tanguy et al., 2007; 2009; 2011). Whether applied to geomagnetic or archeological themes, however, archeomagnetism requires constant improvement in the accuracy and reliability of regional secular variation curves.

First of all, it should be noted that this study focused only on archeo-directional data. 56 57 Research in archeomagnetism began in France in the 1930s with the pioneering work of Emile Thellier (Thellier, 1938). Combining instrumental and methodological developments, 58 data acquisition, and the patient establishment of collaborations with archeologists, Thellier's 59 60 activity led to the construction of the first directional (archeo)secular variation curve for France covering the last two millennia (Thellier, 1981). After Thellier's retirement, Ileana 61 Bucur continued this work, enriching the French archeomagnetic database with ~200 62 directional data, of which the 120 best dated were used to construct a revised version of the 63 French directional variation curve from the first century BC to 1600 (Bucur, 1994). 64 Furthermore, I. Bucur has quite often used archeomagnetism as a dating tool, which she has 65 applied to provide dating constraints for archeological burnt structures discovered in situ and 66 poorly dated, and which has enabled her to strengthen her collaborations with archeologists. 67 68 Since Bucur's retirement (1997), the acquisition of archeomagnetic directional data has continued at the historical archeomagnetism laboratory of Saint-Maur (part of the Institut de 69 Physique du Globe de Paris). The purpose of this paper is to present an update of the Saint-70 Maur French archeomagnetic dataset, and of the associated reference directional secular 71 variation (DSV) curve covering the last two millennia. 72

To carry out his archeomagnetic studies, Emile Thellier developed a methodology for
 the sampling and magnetization analysis that differed significantly from that currently used in

75 paleomagnetism (e.g. Thellier, 1981). Like Ileana Bucur, we have continued to use Thellier's protocol, which was specifically adapted to the nature of the material sampled and the 76 behavior of its magnetization. Practically all other archeomagnetic studies outside our 77 research group are based on different paleomagnetic criteria (e.g., relying on magnetization 78 measurements carried out on small samples and demagnetization experiments). This clearly 79 poses a problem for the classification of the quality of the available archeomagnetic data. 80 Despite the fact that the French dataset was compiled quite a long time ago (Bucur, 1994), 81 the associated archeomagnetic directional variation curve has often been used as a reference 82 for comparison with other archeomagnetic data. On the other hand, however, the individual 83 archeomagnetic data (i.e., those obtained at the burnt structure level) are viewed with caution 84 85 and classed as the lowest quality (e.g. Tarling, 1999; Brown et al., 2015). For this reason, here, we recall Thellier's experimental protocol and show its perfect adequacy for the detailed 86 recovery of past variations in the geomagnetic field of Western Europe. 87

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#### 89 2. An additional 25 years of archeomagnetic sampling

90 We report new data obtained from 528 burnt structures from different archeological sites, giving a total of 698 directional results when including the 170 data from the Thellier-91 Bucur database strictly reduced to represent the territory of metropolitan France only (Fig. 1). 92 The data mainly come from around Paris, in the Ile-de-France region. This uneven geographic 93 site distribution is explained by the fact that one of us (N. Warmé) is an archeologist working 94 at the Ile-de-France center of the Institut National de Recherches Archéologiques Préventives 95 (INRAP). Several archeological sites were intensively sampled for archeomagnetism, such as 96 the localities of Saint-Pathus with its 58 different kilns, and Villiers-le-Sec and Léry, with 35 97 burnt structures each (Fig. 1; archeological references in Table S1 and Text S1). A few other 98 structures were sampled in eastern France (e.g. archeological sites of Wiwerschein (6 99

structures), Avenay (3), Dizy (3) and Laudrefang (3)) and in southeastern France (e.g.
Montpellier (6), Orgon (1)).

Of the new data, 327 are from domestic kilns. The remaining results come from pottery kilns (77), kilns for tile and brick production (26), lime kilns (17) and others (one bell founding, two drying sheds, hypocaust but also 15 cases of undetermined use). The domestic kilns, which thus represent a little less than two-thirds of the new collection, were mainly found in ancient rural settlements dating back to the High Middle Ages.

All baked clay structures were sampled using the plaster cap method described in 107 108 Thellier (1967a; 1981), Bucur (1994) and Le Goff and Gallet (2019). This method consists first of isolating several large blocks of baked clay of various sizes from the best preserved 109 and heated parts of the floor of the structure (Fig. 2a). As a very general rule, sampling only 110 the floor of a kiln minimizes the risk of possible distortion in the distribution of magnetic 111 directions that could be produced by wall tilting during burial or excavation. These blocks are 112 then coated with plaster strips to preserve their cohesion (Fig. 2a,b), a practice we have 113 adopted since the early 1990s. On top of each block, depending on its size, one or several 114 plaster caps are molded with a large (~10-cm-diameter) horizontal upper surface (Fig. 2b). 115 The directions of the local magnetic north and of the sun at a given time are both precisely 116 reported on these horizontal surfaces, the latter orientation providing the direction of the 117 geographic north with a typical accuracy of  $\pm 1^{\circ}$  (Fig. 2c,d). Note that not all the samples 118 collected could be oriented with respect to the Sun due to adverse weather conditions. Thus, 119 for  $\sim 1/3$  of the analyzed structures, the local declination was given by the IGRF model at the 120 time and location of sampling. The consolidated and oriented blocks are then removed from 121 the structure and transported to the laboratory. There, the large blocks are cut into separate 122 samples, each with its own plaster cap and, thus, its independent orientation. The oriented 123 samples are finally adjusted and plastered in standard 12-cm-sided molds (Fig. 2e). 124

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#### 3. Magnetization measurements and experimental protocol

The remanent magnetization of the standard 12-cm-sided samples was measured using 127 a rotating inductometer, especially designed to accomodate their large size (Fig. 2f; e.g. 128 Thellier, 1967b; Le Goff, 1975). The sizes of the instrument, the samples and the storage 129 volume required by the number of samples make it impossible to perform the measurements 130 131 in a zero-field chamber. The entire analytical procedure is performed in the laboratory field, where viscous remanent magnetization (VRM) may interfere with the thermoremanent 132 133 magnetization (TRM) being sought (Thellier, 1981). We therefore perpetuated Thellier's protocol, in which a viscosity test, involving two magnetization measurements, is performed 134 for each sample. The samples are first left for a minimum of four weeks precisely oriented in 135 the direction of the laboratory field, i.e. in the same magnetic position as the samples had 136 when in situ. This position is referred to as the direct position. After this time interval, the 137 sample magnetization is considered to have 'restored' the (initial) viscous magnetisation 138 acquired since the last cooling of the kiln, which was disturbed by the sampling and 139 laboratory preparation. A first measurement is obtained: M<sub>dir</sub>. The samples are then left again 140 for ~four weeks, but situated in the opposite direction to the laboratory field (referred to as the 141 'reverse position'). Now, an opposite four-week VRM is acquired, replacing the four-week 142 direct VRM and part of the initial VRM. A second measurement is taken: M<sub>rev</sub>. From these 143 144 two sets of measurements, it is straightforward to determine by vectorial addition and subtraction for each sample both the moment and direction of the TRM (with a small fraction 145 of the initial VRM), here referred to as the TRM<sub>Th</sub> to underline the fact that it stems from 146 Thellier's method, and the VRM acquired in four weeks. Moreover, a viscosity index (v), 147 expressed as a percentage, is computed from the ratio of the VRM to TRM. Because VRM 148 acquisition follows a logarithmic temporal law (e.g. Dunlop and Ozdemir, 1997), the VRM 149

acquired in four weeks represents a very significant fraction of the initial VRM, and Thellier's protocol strongly reduces its parasitic effect on the directional TRM results. A more accurate positioning of the samples relative to the magnetic north in the laboratory for both the direct and reverse steps of the viscous experiments allowed us to increase the rejection viscosity threshold up to 10-12%.

Several examples of VRM and TRM determinations are shown on the Declination-Inclination graphs in Fig. 3. These cases, from six different structures, make it clear that the VRM directions (black symbols in Fig. 3) are very similar to the present-day geomagnetic field direction (yellow circle), while the mean TRM directions (red symbols) form clusters which differ significantly from each other due to the different ages of the structures ranging from the High Middle Ages period to the modern period.

161 The viscosity test used proved to be very effective in isolating the primary TRM direction and attesting to its stability (e.g. Bucur, 1994). This is the case because we only 162 studied short-lived structures, which were abandoned and rapidly buried after their last use, 163 which strongly limits the possibility of secondary magnetization acquisition (except VRM) 164 due, for instance, to partial re-firing. It is worth pointing out that the magnetic viscosity 165 experiments were used here as a 'cleaning' method, similarly to the thermal or alternating-166 field demagnetization treatments used in paleomagnetism to analyze the often complex 167 magnetic behavior of much older rocks, or in archeomagnetism on volcanics, in which 168 lightning is a frequent cause of the acquisition of parasitic isothermal remanent magnetization 169 (IRM; e.g. Tanguy et al. 2011). In this respect, the directions obtained for the VRM-cleaned 170 TRM clearly cannot be considered simply equivalent to the directions of natural remanent 171 magnetization (NRM). 172

Figure 4a,b shows examples of alternating-field (AF) demagnetization up to 20-30 mT performed on two series of large samples, together with the results obtained on the same 175 samples using the Thellier protocol before their AF demagnetization. Fig. 4a presents the data from 11 samples collected in the archeological site of Tremblay (Ile-de-France region). The 176 mean direction determined by principal component analysis of the AF demagnetization data 177 (Dec.=6.9°, Inc.=72.2°, K=2182 with N<sub>sample</sub>=11 and  $\alpha_{95}$ =0.9°) is identical with a 95% 178 confidence level ( $\gamma$ =0.7°, $\gamma_c$ =1.3°; McFadden and McElhinny, 1990) to that obtained using the 179 Thellier protocol (Dec=6.3°, Inc=71.5°, K=2214 with N<sub>sample</sub>=11 and  $\alpha_{95}$ =0.9°; the yellow 180 dots show the individual TRM<sub>Th</sub> directions). The data from the archeological site of Varennes 181 displayed in Fig. 4b illustrate a case where AF demagnetization of four samples was carried 182 out quite a long time after the determination of their TRM<sub>Th</sub> directions. It can be seen that AF 183 demagnetization makes the directions clearly converge towards the VRM-cleaned TRM 184 185 directions, showing that AF demagnetization removes the viscous remanent magnetization, 186 which was well taken into account by the Thellier protocol. Fig. 4c illustrates a comparison between data from the same archeological site (at Saint-Gilles-du-Gard in southern France), 187 188 assumed to be of the same age, but obtained after sampling carried out at 35-year intervals (1972/2007), subjected to Thellier's protocol (1972) and the classical paleomagnetic method 189 including thermal demagnetization and TRM anisotropy correction (P. Lanos and J. Thiriot, 190 personnal communication 2011). The two series of three data give mean directions (after 191 transfer to Paris's coordinates, Thellier: Dec.=11.4°, Inc.=56.2°, K=1037 with  $N_{sample}$ =18 and 192  $\alpha_{95}$ =1.0°; Lanos-Thiriot: Dec=12.4°, Inc=57.1°, K=519 with N<sub>sample</sub>=50 and  $\alpha_{95}$ =0.9°) that are 193 identical at the 95%-confidence level ( $\gamma$ =1.1°,  $\gamma$ <sub>c</sub>=1.6°; McFadden and McElhinny, 1990), 194 which further testifies to the effectiveness of Thellier's approach. 195

196 It is also important to mention the possible effects of magnetic anisotropy. Magnetic 197 anisotropy disturbs the recording fidelity of the geomagnetic direction in two ways: by 198 mechanical action during the manufacture of bricks or tiles (structural or fabric anisotropy) or 199 by the magnetization of the kiln itself (anisotropy of the demagnetizing field also referred to as magnetic refraction; e.g. Aitken and Hawley, 1971; Thellier, 1981; Lanos, 1987). The first
is mainly because, before firing, the clay has been stretched for moulding, while the second is
due to the rather thin and elongated dimensions of the magnetized clay layers.

We practically always avoided collecting samples from bricks or tiles found in the 203 kilns. The latter, although (re)-fired during kiln use, could still carry a certain fraction of the 204 primary magnetization they acquired during their manufacture. More importantly, it should be 205 noted that a large proportion of our new results come from domestic kilns dug directly into 206 207 the ground, in which the original silt was left in place without any moulding. On a single occasion, samples were taken from two brick fireplaces excavated at the Morimond Abbey 208 (Rouzeau et al., 2015). In both cases, small samples were carefully prepared and oriented 209 210 from the bricks, fully thermally demagnetized (with the recovery of two partial-TRM magnetization components) and corrected for TRM anisotropy. Otherwise, we only analyzed 211 samples in which the magnetization is generally considered to be structurally highly isotropic 212 using Thellier's protocol (e.g. Evans and Hoye, 2005; Kovacheva et al., 2009). 213

On the hand, the effect of the demagnetizing field is very difficult to evaluate and, 214 above all, it cannot be corrected experimentally (unless an equivalent firing of a similar 215 structure/surface, made of the same natural clay, is performed and the resulting samples are 216 collected from the very same zones). This effect depends on the nature and grain size of the 217 magnetic mineralogy and the intensity of the magnetizations (the higher the intensity, the 218 219 greater the effect), which vary from kiln to kiln. If present in a kiln, the demagnetizing field effect can only be attenuated by taking numerous samples from the entire kiln structure (e.g. 220 Thellier, 1981; Schurr et al., 1984; Soffel and Schurr, 1990). We mainly sampled the bottom 221 of the kilns; it therefore cannot be excluded that our archeomagnetic directions (and the 222 resulting curve presented below) are slightly biased in inclination (e.g. Schurr et al., 1984); 223 however, it should also be noted that the magnetization in the kilns studied was generally on 224

the order of 0.1-1.0 A/m, which is less prone to significant magnetic refraction (e.g.
Kovacheva et al., 2009).

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#### 4. Description of the new archeo-directional results

Approximately two-thirds of the new archeomagnetic data were obtained for 229 archeomagnetic dating purposes, as the structures concerned had substantial archeological 230 dating intervals (>100-400 years), On the other hand, the results from 140 burnt structures 231 were dated using archeological constraints, in particular from the typo-morphology of 232 ceramics, coins and archives, with sufficient precision and accuracy to be used to improve the 233 French reference directional secular variation curve for the past two millennia (archeological 234 references in Table S1 and Text S1, and see below). All data obtained from dated and poorly-235 dated or undated burnt structures are reported in Table S1 in Electronic Supplement, including 236 those from the Bucur (1994) database, with a few updates due either to subsequent 237 improvements in the dating of the kilns studied or to the dissociation of some datasets that had 238 been grouped together in the original publication (Table 1 in Bucur, 1994). 239

Most of the structure-averaged viscosity index values for these data are between 6% 240 and 8%, with a mean viscosity of ~6.0% (Fig. 5a), and with a typical range of ~2% at the 241 sample level per structure. The mean is higher than that of Bucur (1994)'s original database 242 ( $v_{mean}$ =3.3%). This difference is due to the much greater number of data obtained from 243 domestic kilns that were added to that database: the viscosity values from 81 artisan (pottery, 244 tile, lime) kilns are among the 100 lowest viscosity indices ( $v_{mean}$ =2.6%), whereas the 245 viscosity values from 89 domestic kilns are among the 100 highest values ( $v_{mean}$ =9.4%). This 246 probably reflects higher temperatures being reached in artisan kilns. It should be noted that 247 the magenta bars in Fig. 5a show the number of results referred to as abnormal values and 248

rejected by Bucur (1994), to which six new data were added. Each of these six data deviates 249 significantly from the age-corresponding segment of the mean DSV curve that we calculated 250 (see below), with a minimum angular distance to the curve of  $\sim 6^{\circ}$ , up to  $\sim 10^{\circ}$ . These are the 251 largest angular distances, whereas most of them (i.e. for ~94% of the database) are <3°. The 252 mean TRM directions are particularly well defined, with large Fisher precision parameters 253 (averaging 4253) and small  $\alpha_{95}$  (averaging ~0.9°). In 95% of the cases, the  $\alpha_{95}$  values are less 254 than 1.8°, with ~50% being less than ~0.8°(Fig. 5b). Twelve structures provided very small 255  $\alpha_{95}$  values of less than 0.4° (minimum of 0.24°) and Fisher parameters up to 32335 (Table 256 S1). Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that such a high degree of precision is not 257 necessarily a guarantee of data reliability with respect to the geomagnetic field at the given 258 time. It should also be mentioned that, excluding the rare  $\alpha_{95}$  values >2°, there is no clear 259 systematic relationship between the  $\alpha_{95}$  values and the associated numbers of samples (Fig. 260 S1a), which means that the small  $\alpha_{95}$  values are not only the result of a statistical 261 262 accumulation of data by structure, but they also attest to the quality of the mean direction determinations. 263

Figure 6 shows the changes in the temporal distribution of the data between the 264 Thellier-Bucur database (Fig. 6a), the new data (Fig. 6b) and the combination of the two 265 266 datasets retaining only those data (286 values) with dating uncertainties of  $\leq$ 50 years (Fig. 6c). Although the results from the Thellier-Bucur's database cover all periods from the last 267 two millennia, these are unevenly distributed in time, being concentrated maintly during the 268 Roman period and the Middle Ages after ~900 AD (Fig. 6a). The results from other periods 269 were much rarer, especially from between ~400 and ~900 AD. On the other hand, the age 270 distribution of the new data is strongly biased in favor of the High Middle Ages (with 383 271 new data from between ~500 and ~1000 AD compared to the previous 47), but unfortunately 272 often with significant age uncertainties (Fig. 6b; see also Fig. S1b and Fig. S2a,b showing the 273

histogram of the dating uncertainties and the time distribution of the declinations and inclinations of all available data, respectively). The age distribution of all the data with dating uncertainties of  $\leq$ 50 years, however, is quite homogeneous, although there is still less data for the 5th and 15th centuries, and practically no data for after 1700 (Fig. 6c; see also Fig. S3).

The available archeomagnetic directions are illustrated on spherical projections in Fig. 278 7. All 698 mean directions are shown in Fig. 7a with a color code depending on the  $\alpha_{95}$ 279 values, and with a change in color signifying a change in the circled areas by a factor of 3, 280 where white  $<0.5^{\circ} \le$  vellow  $<0.9^{\circ} \le$  brown  $<1.5^{\circ} \le$  green  $<2.6^{\circ} \le$  blue. The data with the smallest  $\alpha_{95}$ 281 values are visibly distributed close to each other and appear to show a preferential path, 282 although no age constraints are provided at this stage. This preferential path is reinforced 283 when a color code is used to specify the dating of the data (but without any further trend 284 calculation). Here, each  $\alpha_{95}$  circle is colored according to its central date, with a gradation 285 corresponding to its date range. In Fig. 7b,c, the data have been separated into two time 286 intervals, between 100 BC and 1000 AD (Fig7b) and between 1000 AD and 1900 AD (Fig. 287 7c), in order to avoid confusion resulting from crossing directions around an inclination of 288 ~70° and a declination of ~0°. In particular, this distinction makes a preferred path after 1000 289 AD more evident (Fig. 7c). On the other hand, the representation chosen in Figs. 7a,b,c 290 suggests that selection of the best-dated data (with dating uncertainties of  $\leq$ 50 years) did not 291 significantly change the above-mentioned observations (Fig. 7d,e,f), but rather seems to 292 tighten the preferential path (for instance compare Fig. 7b and Fig. 7e; see section 5.1 for 293 further discussion). 294

It is also interesting to separately illustrate several archeomagnetic datasets obtained from different archeological sites, where a fairly large amount of data had been obtained from each of them. Fig. 8 highlights such a situation for three different archeological sites. It can be seen that each dataset describes a certain segment of secular variation marked by a coherent 299 pattern of directions, mainly with variations in inclination for the Saint-Pathus data (Fig. 8a; Desrayaud, 2010; Hurard, 2011), in declination for the Villiers-le-Sec data (Fig. 8b; Gentili, 300 2000) and in both declination and inclination for the Evreux data (Fig. 8c; Jego, 2010). 301 Independently of their exact dating, these different datasets therefore provide a test of 302 consistency at the archeological-site level for the construction and robustness of the French 303 secular variation curve. The interest in archeology is no less important as a large dataset 304 allows analysis of the occupation phases of an archeological site (duration of the total 305 occupation, discontinuities in occupation, etc.). Although beyond the scope of this study, it 306 should be noted that this aspect of archeomagnetism, based on dense sampling, has generated 307 much interest and effort within our group over the past 25 years. 308

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#### 310 5. Discussion

#### 311 5.1 On the need to select the best-dated results

312 Le Goff and Gallet (2019) recently illustrated the limitations of the resolution of a regional mean DSV curve resulting from the accuracy of the archeomagnetic data used to 313 construct the curve. This precision relates to both the accuracy of the directions (as expressed 314 by their  $\alpha_{95}$  values) and the uncertainties about their dating. The latter uncertainties clearly 315 play a major role in undermining the resolution (see also discussion in Tarling and Dobson, 316 1995). To recover all the variability of geomagnetic directions expected for the latitudes of 317 metropolitan France, as can be deduced from the gufm1 model (Jackson et al., 2000; Le Goff 318 319 and Gallet, 2019), the archeomagnetic data would require, on average, a dating accuracy of  $\sim$ 10 years, which is far beyond any reality (and any hope) given the archeological constraints 320 very generally applicable to the structures studied. The abundance of data, from incorporating 321 322 a large number of data with large age uncertainties, does not make it possible to alleviate this difficulty (there is rather a risk of accentuating it), making it preferable to retain only the bestdated results. It is this selective approach that we choose, retaining only the data with dating uncertainties of  $\leq 50$  years.

To further illustrate this point and to complement the information provided by Fig. 7, 326 Fig. 9 shows the available data for two time intervals, between central dates of 450 and 750 327 AD (Merovingian period; Fig. 9a,b) and between 1000 and 1300 AD (Middle Age; Fig. 9c,d), 328 with and without data with dating uncertainties of >50 years (Fig. 9a resp. Fig. 9b; Fig. 9c 329 resp. Fig. 9d). As in Fig. 7, the  $\alpha_{95}$  areas were colored according to the date of the data, with a 330 color scale adjusted to their dating uncertainties. It is remarkable how data selection reduces 331 the elongation of the distribution of directions. From Fig. 9a,b, it is obvious that some of the 332 less well dated directions are posterior to the Merovingian period, most probably being dated 333 334 to the posterior Carolingian period spanning between 751 and the end of the 10th century (which, it should be noted, is not incompatible with the archeological constraints considered). 335 A similar situation is observed for the results dated between 1000 and 1300 AD (Fig. 9c,d), 336 with some directions being probably either too old or too young in relation to the time 337 segment considered when the dating uncertainties are too large. 338

Thus, thanks to the data selection performed, we can approach a reference DSV curve with a better resolution; however, it should be borne in mind that the latter remains insufficient for tracing details of the rapid directional variations, on the scale of a century or two, that may have occurred in France over the past few millennia (Le Goff and Gallet, 2019).

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#### 344 5.2 Method for a revised French DSV curve

We used the same method developed by Le Goff et al. (2002) to revise the DSV curve. There are two important and useful aspects to this method. The first aspect is that it involves

sliding windows, with durations and time shifts that could be adjusted to accommodate the 347 variable distribution of the data over time. Taking into account the mean dates and dating 348 uncertainties of the individual archeomagnetic data, this amounts to adapting the temporal 349 resolution of the DSV curve, i.e. without considering a uniform regularization, to give an 350 objective view of the current knowledge of temporal variations. The second aspect is that the 351 directions are treated vectorially, in a way very close to that which led to the determination of 352 the different directions themselves (i.e., by using Fisher's statistics). The bivariate calculation 353 takes into account the angular variances of all individual results (as given by their Fisher's K 354 parameters), which means that the higher the dispersion, the larger the  $\alpha_{95}$  value for the 355 window-mean direction. The 95%-confidence ellipses then contain relevant information both 356 on the dispersion of the data for a certain time window and on the geomagnetic field evolution 357 during this same time interval. It should also be noted that the method of Le Goff et al. (2002) 358 was designed to use the reference DSV curve for archeomagnetic dating purposes. For this 359 reason, it preserves as much as possible a good statistical consistency between the 360 archeomagnetic directions defining the reference curve and any individual direction needing 361 to be dated. 362

In the method of Le Goff et al. (2002), the duration of each time window is set 363 according to a statistical weight that is a function of the number of data points present in the 364 window and the proportion of time each data point spends in the window relative to its dating 365 interval. When the DSV curve is calculated, the size of each window is increased from a 366 minimum of 20 years (with a maximum of 110 years) until its statistical weight (i.e., the 367 density of the data) reaches a required minimum value, which, in our study, was chosen as 8 368 369 (the same value was considered by Le Goff and Gallet, 2019). It should be noted that the minimum statistical weight was 2.5 when a set of 110 directions from the Thellier-Bucur 370 database was used by Le Goff et al. (2002) to calculate the previous French DSV curve 371

between 0 and ~1600. On the other hand, the time shift between two consecutive windows is such that the beginning of the younger window is the central date of the older window. The offset between the central dates of the two windows may then increase with the time extension of the most recent window (i.e., in order to reach the minimum statistical weight). A more detailed description of the method can be found in Le Goff et al. (2002).

For each time window, a mean archeomagnetic direction is calculated, after weighting the individual data, using the bivariate extension of Fisher's statistics (Le Goff, 1990; Le Goff et al., 1992). In this calculation, unless a bias is introduced by one or a few deviating directions present in a window, the elongation of each 95%-confidence ellipse provides information on the direction and speed of the geomagnetic field drift through the duration of the time window in question.

383

#### <sup>384</sup> 5.3 Description and comparison of the revised French DSV curve with the previous curve

Sixty-four successive time windows were isolated between 100 BC and 1700 AD. Fig 385 10a shows that they all have approximately the same statistical weight, mainly between 8 and 386 10, and that their mean duration is  $\sim$  60 years. The resulting DSV curve is displayed on a 387 spherical projection in Fig. 10b (red-white line with the 95%-confidence ellipses in 388 transparent grey; Table S2), together with the individual data used for this calculation (see 389 color code in the figure). The time evolutions of the mean declinations and inclinations, with 390 their 95%-confidence error bands, are also shown in Fig. S3. Schematically, the average curve 391 can be described as follows: a first segment from the first century BC to the 6th century 392 marked by a back and forth evolution of the inclinations (while the declinations remain fairly 393 constant), a second segment marked by a broad, counterclockwise semicircle between ~800 394 and ~1350 AD, and a third segment between ~1400 and ~1700 AD, in which the directions 395

describe about one third of a clockwise circle, with a curvature similar to that of the previous segment. Note that between ~1700 and ~2000 AD, it is well known that the geomagnetic directions described a tighter clockwise semicircle (double line in pale green, Fig. 10b and details in Table S4; Jackson et al., 2000; Le Goff and Gallet, 2017).

Over the two last millennia, three periods are marked by a clear change in the direction 400 of geomagnetic drift: ~150-350 AD, ~600-800 AD and ~1350-1400 AD. These changes were 401 probably rapid, but the accuracy of the dating of the data remains insufficient (despite the 402 403 selection criterion) for precisely defining the exact nature of these transitions. Apart from these transitions, the evolution of the mean archeomagnetic directions appears to be very 404 regular, with only two slight inflections towards the 13th century and the middle of the 16th 405 406 century. Here again, the limited accuracy of the dating of the available archeomagnetic data does not allow us to further discuss the origin of these inflections (Le Goff and Gallet, 2019). 407 Finally, the 15th century seems to be marked by the most rapid directional variations, which 408 are underlined by a very strong elongation of the 95%-confidence ellipse of the mean 409 direction, with 1450 AD as the central date. Without challenging this observation, it should 410 however be noted that this is the longest window duration (Fig. 10a) because data for the 15th 411 century are still scarce (Fig. 6). 412

Figure 11 shows a comparison between the new DSV curve and the previous ones 413 obtained by Bucur (1994) using sliding windows of fixed duration (80 years) and by Le Goff 414 et al. (2002) using the same database but with sliding windows of various durations. (Note 415 that in the latter study, the confidence ellipses were drawn by considering the weighted 416 number of samples instead of the weighted number of archeomagnetic data available at the 417 418 structure level, as used in Fig. 10b). Unsurprisingly, the curves are similar, and exactly the same patterns of variation can be observed. Overall, the new curve tends to smooth the rapid 419 fluctuations that previously occurred from one window to the other. In addition, notable 420

differences with now smaller inclinations highlight the period between ~600 and ~850 AD. Paradoxically, however, it is difficult to know whether these differences correspond to a real improvement in our knowledge of the detailed directional variations, or whether this smoother evolution is rather the result of an increase in the number of data with levels of dating accuracy that are arguably insufficient to trace all the expected variability in the geomagnetic field (Le Goff and Gallet, 2019). Nevertheless, whichever option is chosen, the new DSV curve is more robust from a statistical point of view than the old one.

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#### 429 5.4 Comparison of the revised French DSV curve with other Western European curves

The new French DSV curve is compared in Fig. 12 with other regional curves 430 established in neighbouring countries, namely Germany (Schnepp and Lanos, 2005), the UK 431 (Batt et al., 2017) and Iberia (Molina-Cardín et al., 2018). The latter curves are based on 432 433 databases that cover most of the last two millennia with only a weak influence of the French database (i.e. that of Bucur, 1994). In Fig. 12, these curves are presented as calculated by their 434 authors, as it was not our objective to discuss the different techniques used to calculate them 435 (see discussion in Schnepp and Lanos, 2005; Lanos et al., 2005; Lodge and Holme, 2009; Batt 436 et al., 2017 and Molina-Cardín et al., 2018). Each curve is assumed to reproduce as closely as 437 possible the regional directional variations and it is considered that no particular method of 438 curve calculation can introduce erroneous segments of secular variation. The differences 439 observed in Fig. 12 are therefore due to a potentially different geomagnetic field behavior 440 between the regions considered and/or to differences in the temporal resolution between the 441 different curves, given the different databases and the techniques used for their construction. 442

443 Overall, the curves show basically the same patterns of directional variations (Fig. 12).444 This is not surprising if we refer, for instance, to the historical period for which the direct

directional measurements made in France and England over more than three centuries are 445 exactly the same after a correction for latitude (e.g. Alexandrescu et al., 1997; see also Le 446 Goff and Gallet, 2017). One can also consider the volcanic archeomagnetic data from 447 Vesuvius and Etna (southern Italy) obtained by Tanguy et al. (2003; 2007; 2009), which show 448 the same secular variation pattern as the French DSV. Reasonably, and in accordance with 449 regional (e.g. Pavón-Carrasco et al. 2009) and global (e.g. Jackson et al., 2000; Licht et al., 450 2013; Nilsson et al., 2014; Arneitz et al., 2019) geomagnetic field reconstructions, the secular 451 variation has likely remained fairly homogeneous on the Western European spatial scale over 452 the last two millenia. 453

The differences observed should therefore primarily depend on the different 454 characteristics of the databases (i.e., the number, accuracy and temporal distribution of the 455 data; see also discussion in Le Goff and Gallet, 2019). From the corresponding databases, we 456 extracted the 110 (Germany), 759 (UK) and 99 (Iberia) individual directional data (right-hand 457 panels in Fig. 12). On average, the data from these three regions are more scattered than the 458 French data, both at the individual data level (with higher  $\alpha_{95}$  values) and collectively, at the 459 level of all the data (compare with Fig. 10b). The uncertainties, shown as confidence circles, 460 associated with the mean DSV curves are probably too optimistic, which is a recurrent 461 problem in archeomagnetic field reconstructions (see for instance discussion in Korte et al., 462 2005; Korte and Constable, 2011); however, this is particularly critical for the UK curve (Fig. 463 12c,d). While all the other curves are only based on the corresponding regional database 464 alone, the UK DSV curve is the result of an inversion of the global (worldwide) database, 465 incorporating a significant overweighting of the data from the UK. However, there is a rather 466 467 paradoxical situation pertaining to the UK curve marked by the absence of mean directions with high inclinations during the period from the ~5th to the ~8th centuries, which are, on the 468 contrary, clearly included in the French and German DSV curves (Fig. 12e,f) and, to a lesser 469

470 extent, in the Iberian curve (Fig. 12a,b). This seems to be mainly due to the paucity of archeomagnetic data in the UK during this specific time interval (see Fig. 5b in Batt et al., 471 2017), as well as their scatter, and this problem is not alleviated by the data available in 472 neighbouring regions, contrary to what the method used by Batt et al. (2017) might suggest. 473 The most critical aspect is that the low number of UK data from this period does not result in 474 a significant (expected) increase in the uncertainties associated with the mean directions, 475 which are therefore much too optimistic. In this respect, the angular uncertainties associated 476 with the German DSV curve seem more realistic (Fig. 12a,b). The latter DSV curve does not 477 show the directions with inclinations as low as ~55° between ~1200/1300 and ~1400 AD that 478 are present in both the French and Iberian curves. However, it should be noted that such data 479 are now present in the recently updated archeomagnetic database (Schnepp et al., 2020). 480

Figure 12 highlights, in a simple and very general way, the need to homogenize the 481 methods used to estimate regional DSV curves. This is particularly necessary if the secular 482 variation is to be studied on a spatial scale such as that of Europe without resorting to a more 483 global reconstruction of the geomagnetic field, the resolution of which is still limited, or if the 484 significance of the archeomagnetic data obtained from different regions is to be analyzed (i.e., 485 in order to establish a coherent archeological scheme on a scale beyond the framework of a 486 single country). Concerning this last point, it should finally be remembered that the approach 487 developed by Le Goff et al. (2002) is particularly well adapted to the use of the DSV curve 488 for archeomagnetic dating purposes (see also the Bayesian approach developed by Lanos, 489 2004). 490

491

492 **6. Concluding remarks** 

This study summarized 25 years of research in archeomagnetism carried out in the laboratory created by Emile Thellier. It completes the work of Ileana Bucur with the construction of a new reference curve of the directional variations in the geomagnetic field in France over the last two millennia. It also concludes more than 80 years of research in archeomagnetism carried out at the Saint-Maur Observatory (created in 1880 by Eleuthère Mascart), at a time when the laboratory for the analysis of archeomagnetic directions has just been installed at Chambon-la-Forêt within the French National Magnetic Observatory.

Note that the programs allowing the calculation of a DSV curve and its use for archeomagnetic dating using the method developed by Le Goff et al. (2002) are available upon request.

503

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#### 706 Figure captions

**Fig. 1.** Location map (Mercator projection) of the archeomagnetic data obtained in metropolitan France. The surface of France was divided into rectangles of 0.5° longitude by 0.25° latitude (~40 km by 28 km), in which the number of available data is indicated. The map also shows the contours of the Ile-de-France region (blue line), where most of the new results were obtained. The yellow star indicates the location of Paris.

**Fig. 2.** Different stages of sample collection and preparation in the laboratory (following Thellier, 1938; 1967b). (a) Isolation of large blocks on the floor of a kiln, and their embedding with plaster strips. (b) Moulding of horizontal plaster caps on top of the blocks, on which orientation with respect to the (c) geomagnetic north and (d) sun direction are recorded. (e) Preparation of samples in the laboratory with standardization of the sample size using 12cm cubic moulds. (f) Inductometer used in the laboratory to measure the magnetization of large samples (Le Goff, 1975).

**Fig. 3.** Determination of VRM and TRM direction from six kilns of different ages, with an averaged viscosity index  $v_{mean}$  ranging from 13.8% to 0.9%. The different panels are screenshots of the measurement program used in the laboratory, showing on a Cartesian (D,I) diagram the directions deduced after the viscosity test and reduction to Paris. The red crosses indicate the TRM directions obtained from each sample (the circled one is being processed). The black crosses display the VRM directions obtained for the different samples. The yellow circle shows the present-day field direction in the laboratory.

**Fig. 4.** (a),(b) Comparison between the TRM directions from the Thellier method and the results for the same samples derived from AF demagnetization up to 30 mT and 20 mT (kiln studied in Tremblay and Varennes, respectively). In these orthogonal diagrams, each small colored symbol shows the demagnetization data obtained for a sample (with data from 11

730 samples in (a) and 4 samples in (b)). The big open symbols and the associated thick lines display the TRM direction obtained using the Thellier protocol after direct and reverse 731 viscosity experiments, while the yellow dots show the resulting TRM<sub>Th</sub> directions. The yellow 732 arrows in (b) highlight the viscous effet due to a time lag between the two series of 733 measurements. While AF demagnetization is necessary to remove this effet, the dotted lines 734 illustrate the fact that it is well taken into account by the Thellier protocol. (c) Comparison 735 between the mean TRM directions obtained by the Thellier method (95%-confidence ellipses 736 in lilac; measurements carried out by Thellier in 1972) and the classical paleomagnetic 737 methodology involving thermal demagnetization and TRM anisotropy correction (95%-738 confidence ellipses in yellow; P. Lanos and J. Thiriot, pers. comm., 2011) obtained from six 739 740 different kilns (three for each procedure) sampled at Saint-Gilles-du-Gard in 1972 and 2007 respectively, and assumed to be of the same age. The contour of the 95%-confidence ellipses 741 of the two general mean directions are shown with dotted lines. The thick line in grey and red 742 is the DSV curves estimated in this study. 743

Fig. 5. (a) Histogram of the structure-averaged viscosity indices of all results obtained using 744 the Thellier's protocol. In green, all the data considered in the French database (Table S1); in 745 white, only the data with dating uncertainties  $\leq$ 50 years. The magenta bars show both the data 746 747 eliminated because their viscosity index is too high (>12%) and the so-called abnormal (VA) values reported by Bucur (1994) to which we have added six new data because their 748 directions deviate significantly from the age corresponding segments of the mean DSV curve 749 that we calculate (Fig. 10; Table S2). Note that data with viscosity indices >12% are reported 750 only to illustrate the fact that their number is small in relation to the total number of structures 751 analyzed. (b) Histogram of the 95%-confidence circles ( $\alpha_{95}$ ). In blue, all data ; in white, the 752 data with dating uncertainties of  $\leq$ 50 years. 753

Fig. 6. Age distribution of the data considered in this study. (a) Age distribution of 170 754 directions from the Thellier-Bucur database (Thellier, 1981; Bucur, 1994). (b) Age 755 distribution of the 528 results obtained in our laboratory over the past 25 years. (c) Age 756 distribution of 286 data from the two previous datasets, with dating uncertainties of  $\leq$ 50 years. 757 Fig. 7. Spherical projections of the available archeomagnetic directions. (a) All data with a 758 color code depending of their  $\alpha_{95}$  values (see text and code on the figure). (b) Available 759 directions dated between 100 BC and 1000 AD. The  $\alpha_{95}$  circles are colored according to the 760 central dates, with a color gradation as a function of the date uncertainties (see color code on 761 the figure). Note that for the few data with  $\alpha_{95}$  values >2.6°, the colors are displayed with 762 transparency (pale colors) to ease the reading. (c) Same as in (b), but for the data available 763 between 1000 and 1900 AD. (d-f) Same as in (a-c), respectively, but only for the data with 764 dating uncertainties of  $\leq$ 50 years. 765

Fig. 8. Spherical projection of the archeomagnetic directions obtained from three different archeomagnetic sites: (a) Saint Pathus, (b) Villiers le Sec, and (c) Evreux. The color code is a function of the  $\alpha_{95}$  values (see code on the different panels). The thick line in grey and red is the DSV curves estimated in this study (see text) and the double pale green line is the DSV curve over the historical period determined between 1555 and 1750 by Le Goff and Gallet (2017) and from the gufm1 model (Jackson et al., 2000) after 1750 (Table S4).

**Fig. 9.** Spherical projection of the archeomagnetic directions with central dates between 450 and 750 AD (a,b) (i.e. during the Merovingian period), and between 1000 and 1300 AD (c,d) (i.e. during the Middle Ages period). The  $\alpha_{95}$  circles are colored according to the dating uncertainties of the corresponding data (see code in the different panels). (a,c) All data, (b,d) Only data with dating uncertainties of  $\leq$ 50 years. See legend of Fig. 8 for the two curves in grey and red, and in pale green. 778 Fig. 10. The new DSV curve for France for the last two millennia. Only data with an age uncertainty of  $\leq$  50 years were used after their transfer to the Paris coordinates (48.9°N, 779 2.3°E) (see text). The DSV curve was constructed using the method developed by Le Goff et 780 al. (2002). (a) Statistical weights (in black, left graduation) and half durations (in blue, right 781 graduation) of the different time windows isolated over the last two millennia. (b) Spherical 782 projection of the mean archeomagnetic directions calculated between the first century BC and 783 1700 AD (red-white curve) with the corresponding 95%-confidence ellipses (in transparent 784 grey). The individual archeomagnetic data used for these calculations are also shown with 785 their 95%-confidence circles colored according to their values (see code in the figure). A few 786 individual archeomagnetic data younger than 1700 are also shown in pale colors. The double 787 788 curve in pale green illustrates the evolution of the geomagnetic directions provided by instrumental measurements (Le Goff and Gallet, 2017; Jackson et al., 2000). 789

**Fig. 11.** Comparison of the new mean DSV curve calculated in this study (red-white line) with that calculated using the same method but with the Bucur (1994) database (green-white line; Le Goff et al., 2002) and that of Bucur (1994) using sliding windows of fixed duration (blue-grey line).

Fig. 12. Comparison of the new French DSV curve (red-white curve) with those previously 794 proposed for Germany (a,b) (blue-white curve, from Schnepp and Lanos, 2005), the UK (c,d) 795 (purple-white curve, from Batt et al., 2017) and Iberia (e,f) (green-white curve, from Molina-796 797 Cardin et al., 2018). All directions have been transferred to the Paris coordinates. Details of the methods used for the construction of the latter curves are provided in the corresponding 798 articles. The left-hand panels show the average curves, while the right-hand panels show the 799 800 average curves for Germany (b), the UK (d) and Iberia (f), together with the individual archeomagnetic data used to construct the curves in question (see text). In the latter plots, the 801 confidence circles for the reference curves are shown in transparent grey for every 50 years 802

recovered from the tables provided by the authors. The 95%-confidence circles of the individual data are shown with the same color code as in Fig. 10b, but also with empty circles for  $\alpha_{95} > 5.0^{\circ}$ .

806

#### 807 Supplementary material

Fig. S1. (a)  $\alpha_{95}$  values for all directions obtained at the structure level, reported as a function of the number of results per structure (red diamonds, scaling to the left) and a histogram of the number of results per structure (in green, scaling to the right). (b) Histogram of the dating uncertainties of all available archeomagnetic directions.

Fig. S2. Time distribution of all declination (a, red dots) and inclination (b, blue dots) data
before a selection based on their dating uncertainties (see text).

Fig. S3. Time evolution of the mean declinations and inclinations from the new French DSV curve (red and blue continuous lines, respectively), as interpolated from 10 year intervals in Table S3 . In both cases, the grey band shows the associated  $\alpha_{95}$  Fisher confidence circles. The declinations and inclinations of the individual archeomagnetic data (i.e., obtained at the structure level) are also reported using red and blue dots, respectively. The curve segments in magenta (declinations) and cyan (inclinations) covering the past few centuries are constructed using direct magnetic measurements (Table S4).

Table S1. Mean TRM archeomagnetic directions from the Saint-Maur database including the results obtained by Thellier (1981), Bucur (1994) and this study. The first two datasets are in italics. Structure number: archeomagnetic data reference number (0-200, from Thellier, 1981; 300-399, from Bucur, 1994; from 400 and above, this study). *#* indicates that either the dating or the grouping of data has been changed from the original publication. Structure Name: name of the archeological structure studied. Ref.: number associated with an archeological reference 827 given in Text S1. \* indicates that the archeological information was provided in Bucur (1994). Long. Site (°), Lat. Site (°): location (longitude and latitude) of the structure. Decl. Site (°), 828 Incl. Site (°): declination and inclination of the TRM mean directions at the site locations. 829 Decl. Paris (°), Incl. Paris (°): declination and inclination of the TRM mean directions after 830 transfer to the Paris coordinates. Nb: number of samples used for the determination of the 831 TRM mean directions. K,  $\alpha_{95}$ : Fisher parameter and radius of the 95%-confidence circle of 832 the TRM mean directions. v%: structure-averaged magnetic viscosity index of the 833 corresponding mean TRM directions. Central Date and ADate: central date and dating 834 uncertainties of the structures. Type Structure: use of kilns. Note that the results in bold were 835 used to estimate the French DSV master curve (see text). 836

Table S2. Archeomagnetic mean directions estimated in France since the first century BC 837 according to the method developed by Le Goff et al. (2002). Date, Half Duration window: 838 central date and half duration of the windows. Nb and Weighted results sum: raw number and 839 weighted number of individual mean directions per window. Weighted samples sum: 840 weighted number of directions at the sample level available for each time window. Decl. Paris 841 842 (°), Incl. Paris (°): declination and inclination of the mean direction estimated in Paris for each time window.  $\Omega(^{\circ})$ : elongation direction of the confidence ellipse of each mean direction. 843 kx,ky: bivariate dispersion parameters. Fisher's K: Fisher's parameter of the mean direction 844 estimated for each time window. 845

Table S3. Interpolation each 10 years of the mean DSV curve detailed in Table S2 (and see text). Same legend as in Table S2. In addition, the corresponding  $\alpha_{95}$  values are provided in the last column.

Table S4. Historical (direct) DSV curve in Paris determined between 1555 and 1750 by Le
Goff and Gallet (2017) and from the gufm1 model (Jackson et al., 2000) after 1750.

Text S1. List of known archeological references associated with the archeomagnetic data
detailed in Table S1. Each reference has a number that can be found in the third column of
Table S1. All these references are available at dolia.inrap.fr. \* indicates that the archeological
information was provided in Bucur (1994).



























